1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Katumbalevu only; Vale Lailai have one of their own. Tuimereke, as last survivor of the oldest generation, was chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*).

There are also heads of the sides of the oven (*mbati ni lovo*) or residences (*i tokatoka*). Salesi of the senior branch of Vatuwangga was chief of his quarter, but resigned, and was succeeded by Peni Vakaruarua.

Levuka

Levuka bears a peculiar relation to Tumbou and to the other villages of Lakemba. The Levukans alone are permitted to wear the turban in the village. The following information concerning the Levukans was given to me by natives:

Levuka has the same meaning as *voroka*, the body, trunk, main part. Mbau is the original home of the Levukans. Their dialect still differs from that of Lakemba, but at the present day it inclines more to Lauan. Formerly they married within the village that the Levukan blood might not be lost, but now they marry outside.

Only three clans remain: Ndaulakemba, Manukuira, Ndelaikorolevu. The ceremonial name (*i thavu*) of Levuka is Ndelaikorolevu (top of the great village), it refers to the hill in Mbau on which they used to live. Ndelaikorolevu is the herald clan. The chief is known as Ndaulakemba, or short Ndau (fisherman, or the navigator).

The business of the people of Levuka was to sail. Alone they used to sail, for the other villages were on the hills. They did not plant or fish except to please themselves.

The women made pots to sell. They got clay from Mbala in Lakemba; black sand from Oneata; red sand from Narukuinanggelendamundamu in Lakemba. Both these sands were mixed with the clay. After making the pots they left them to dry for two or three weeks and then baked them. They used taro to paint washing-basins while hot; then they painted them with an infusion of mangrove bark: this gave a good appearance and made it lasting. Cooking pots they painted with the resin of the kauri technically called *makandre*. Pots were not painted inside. These pots were not taken for presentation at ceremonial exchanges or potlatches (*solevu*), but were sold and paid for in bark-cloth, oil, tobacco. They went all over Lau with their pots. There is only one woman that can make pots now—the only Levukan woman in Lau. The Lakembans still maintain their Mbauan connection. Their clan in Mbau is the Vusaratu, the clan of the Roko Tui Mbau.[1]

[1] One informant however says that Ndaulakemba goes to Tuikamba, the clan of the Vunivalu of Mbau, Ndelaikorolevu to Vusaratu, and Manukuira to the heralds.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

636 721 they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakavundi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.

602 776 The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

636 Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

[197]

621 614 565 The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*lewe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tathini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendratou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

614 565 Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggilo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggilo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggilo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line or the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Yavuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

the sea; then the crying of the children and the cutting of firewood is allowed. The Rasau returns to Lomaloma.

MUALEVU

The dialect of Mualevu is that of Thakaundrove. Some clans drop the *k*, or rather reduce it to a glottal stop. They say *thawa 'ila;* the others say *thawa kila.*

In precedence the villages rank as follows: Mualevu, Mavana, Ndalithoni alias Ndaku perhaps comes third, then perhaps Avea, then Muamua, Thikobia (Thikombia-i-Lau), Mboitathi. The people of Avea formerly lived in the island of Munia which was sold to white men. Munia was noble of old; the chiefs sprang from there. There was one branch of nobles in Mualevu; but it declined and a branch of nobles from Munia was set up instead.

The old name of the village of Mualevu was Yaro. The clans are described as follows:

Mualevu, the clan of the high chief (Sau). Lomati are like Mualevu; they are nobles but are not appointed high chiefs. They are Envoys to Thakaundrove, and the title of their chief is Ratu Mataki, "Sir-Envoy-to"; Likusongea are envoys to Lomaloma. Nautu are the tribe of Tui Yaro; formerly they were noble, but once they cooked turtle in Vatuvula and the chief of Mualevu was angry and smote them and so they declined until the present day. In those days the tribe of Tui Yaro kept "the cloth of the land".

Nayanggona are heralds; Nalawa, Natuvu, Wailailai, Nambureto, Nandave are plain clans.

The *tama* salutation used by the men of Mualevu is *"mai o!"*; by the women *"mai na vakandua!"* The chiefs of Mualevu are called Tui Mavana. The present one is called only Sau; he has not yet been installed as Tui Mavana.

It is said that Mavana was the chief village of old, but Mualevu beat them. There are facts which point that way: all the old things such as the fish caught in nets (*ika tanga*) are in Mavana, none in Mualevu; all state ceremonial (*ka vakaturanga*) emerges from Mavana; the frontiers of Mavana come very close to Mualevu; there is a passage called the Mavana passage. Another informant says it was the chief village until beaten by Ndaku who gave the title of Tui Mavana to Mualevu.

The people of Mavana come to install the Tui Mavana, which is done as follows:

All the people assemble with a feast and pile it up in the village Green. The chief with the herald comes and sits down. All the people have retired to the bush, and no beating of bark cloth is allowed. The people of Mavana prepare the kava of the Chief (*yanggona ni tu*) on the village Green. From the time they prepare to squeeze it it is forbidden for any one to come that way, or he will be fined. Men stand with clubs and mount guard: there is not an installation ceremony at which this is not done. While the kava is being made ready, the cloth of the land is tied on the chief's right arm.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

as possible, in its historic frame. I have attempted to record the facts and to document them so that the reader may judge and interpret them on their own merits and to avoid interpretations, except in the conclusion. Most of my interpretations have been treated elsewhere (21, 22, 23, 24).

In this monograph statistics refer to the years 1933-34. For obvious reasons fictitious names for native informants occasionally have been used.

LANGUAGE

The Fijian language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It consists of a number of dialects with a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian-Polynesian vocabulary. The dialect of Mbau, formerly the principal chiefdom of Fiji, has become the official language, used by British colonial officials and missionaries and taught in the native schools. No pidgin is spoken.

I acquired some knowledge of the Mbauan dialect during six weeks on Viti Levu while awaiting transportation to Lau. I employed two Lauan boys, aged 28 and 19, who had learned some English in school on Viti Levu and Lakemba, to help me with the modern Lauan dialect, which is a mixture of the old Lauan dialect known by a few aged natives, the Mbauan dialect, and the Tongan language. I acquired a conversational knowledge of modern Lauan, but throughout the field work interpreters aided me in understanding informants and checked my study of the meanings of words. They helped me especially in dealing with abstract phases of the culture.

In this monograph the spelling of native words follows Hazelwood's Fijian dictionary (10), except where the simplified system of spelling he employed to facilitate teaching the written language to natives misrepresents the sound of the language. *Th* has been substituted for Hazelwood's *c*; *mb* for *b*; *ng* for *g*; *ngg* for *q*; *nd* for *d*; *tch* for *j* (Lauan dialect). These sounds may be expressed phonetically as follows:

th = ð	ngg = ŋg	mb = ᵐb
ng = ŋ	nd = ⁿd	tch = tʃ

Place names follow British Admiralty charts except those of villages and other small specific localities in southern Lau, most of which have never been mapped. These have been recorded as pronounced in the Lauan dialect by the natives.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Light skins, like those of the
Tongans, especially among the women, are greatly admired. 142
The white skins of Europeans, however, are considered ugly. [B32]

The Lauans are a well-proportioned, stalwart and heavy-boned type, slightly above the average height. Almost without 142
exception the young people have beautiful bodies. In general the men are muscular, with well-developed straight legs of which they are extremely proud. The young girls are stream-lined and graceful with slender hips and upstanding breasts. They mature rapidly, and usually by the age of
eighteen have the well developed forms which are particularly [145]
admired by the men. Thereafter with the strain of child-bearing they age quickly. Old people are usually lean and angular.

As may be expected because of the intermediate geographic 144
position of the Lau islands between Melanesian Fiji and Polynesian Tonga, the physical type here described represents a mixture of the racial stock of these two areas.[4] As a group the Lauans are easily distinguished from the Melanesian natives of Fiji proper and also from the Polynesian Tongans, but there are individuals among them who closely resemble the mountain people of the interior of Viti Levu where the most Negroid types of Fijians are found, and others who look pure Tongan. The Fijian types are found among the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Lau, especially on Fulanga, and the Tongan types in Tongan centers like Lakemba, the home of the high chief of Lau.

The Lauans speak a dialect of the Fijian language which 197
belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian stock, found throughout

[4] The terms Melanesia and Polynesia are used in this work primarily to denote culture areas. Melanesia extends from New Guinea to Fiji, and is bounded on the south by Australia and on the north by the Carolines, the Gilberts and the Ellice islands. On the east lies Polynesia which forms a triangle including New Zealand, Hawaii and Easter island. The two areas differ in native culture, race and language. Melanesian culture is less organized than Polynesian, and the natives are Negroid in type with blackish skins, frizzly hair and coarse features, in contrast to the brown skins, wavy hair and finer features of the Polynesians. The languages of the two areas differ in grammar and vocabulary. [101]

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

197 Oceania except in Australia and parts of New Guinea. It has a simple Melanesian grammar and mixed Melanesian and Polynesian vocabulary. The Lauan dialect is no longer spoken in its old form, but has been altered by the addition of a large number of words from the Mbauan dialect, formerly spoken only by the people of the chiefdom of Mbau, Viti Levu, and now the official language of the Fiji group. A few Tongan words are also used. Since Mbauan, the only written Fijian language, is used in the village schools, the Kambarans understand it and also speak it to some extent, and a few Kambarans speak Tongan. On Lakemba, the residence of the high chief of Lau, the principal languages are Mbauan and Tongan. Natives who have attended mission or government boarding schools on Lakemba or Viti Levu know some English, but there is little opportunity in the southern islands for the natives to speak or hear it since visiting British officials speak fluent Mbauan, and other English-speaking visitors are few and far between.

291 Men, women, and children of Kambara wear a waist cloth or *lavalava* of colorful printed cotton cloth. The upper part of the body is usually bare. The *lavalava* consists of a rectangular piece of cloth, the length of which is wrapped one-and-a-half times around the waist and ingeniously knotted in front. Bright Tahitian prints, usually with large white designs on a red or blue background, are preferred, and are very becoming against the dark skins. The *lavalavas* of men and children extend to the knee, those of women to the ankle. Young women frequently knot theirs a few inches below the waist, a strikingly beautiful arrangement exposing the curve of the hips. The Lauans wear fragrant exotic flowers [301] in their hair whenever the fancy strikes them, and on festive occasions hang garlands around their necks. It is tabu for all but chiefs to wear a covering on the head in a village, [622] and a turban made by wrapping a piece of soft barkcloth around the head is occasionally worn by chiefs as a sign of

Maps.

126 The maps were constructed as follows:- The outline of the island and the reefs was enlarged four times from the largest scale maps available, (H.O. Charts 2851 and 2852). This sheet was carried into the field, the outline corrected and the topography sketched in. While no instrument was used, most of the islands were sufficiently small to enable a fair degree of accuracy with the naked eye. The final maps were traced from these field sheets.

104 There has been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Fijian place names. When the language was reduced to writing by the early missionaries, several short-cuts or contractions of orthography were introduced. The principal of these were as follows:- b was used for mb, d for nd, g for ng, and q for ng-g.

Most of the older maps used these simplified symbols in spelling the names. As this made their pronouncing very difficult for those not fimiliar with the Fijian orthography, the United States Hydrographic Office and other publishers of nautical charts kept the phonetic spelling.

In addition to this, further complications arose because of the [197] differences of pronounciation in different parts of Fiji. The Tongan [177] influence in Lau accounts for the substitution of "Fulanga" for "Vulanga". Even the group is known to the natives on the larger islands as "Viti".

On each island visited special pains were taken to ask the natives [126] the names of all the islands, peaks and districts in sight, and their pronounciation was noted. These were checked against the spelling on the latest Fiji Government map ("corrected to 1924") and, allowing for the variation in pronounciation, they were spelled phonetically. In nearly all cases this spelling agreed with that on the Government map, except that the double g is here used in the sound ng-g (represented by q in the contracted spelling) as in Nasanggalau.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

[p. 10 is blank]

PRONUNCIATION OF WORDS FOUND IN THIS BOOK.

THE Fijian language, subject to dialect variations, is now used throughout the Lau Islands; though probably in ancient times Southern Lau, at all events, used a language much more akin to modern Tongan. 197

The orthography is that used when the spoken words were first reduced to writing by the earliest Missionaries, some of whom were skilled philologists, about eighty years ago. They found that there were certain sounds for which we have no corresponding letters in the English alphabet, and after many experiments they decided that the best results were to be obtained, and the necessity of introducing additional letters avoided, by giving an entirely new sound to certain of the letters of our own alphabet that could best be spared. Thus Q is made to represent a sound half-way between NG (hard) and NK; and C is made use of to represent TH (hard). 104 [197]

Just as a white man finds it difficult to pronounce the peculiar clicks that occur in a Zulu's 104 194

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

*539 776 across the beach, and at once he decided to bury himself as the *kaikis* do in the sand; for here, surely, thought he, these evil-minded chiefs will never find me.

"So that evening he buried himself deep in the sand, leaving only a small hole, like the tunnel of a *kaiki*, for his nose to breathe through. And when the night came, great was the searching of the demons for Tui Liku; and they were just giving up when their leader said, 'Well, friends, how would it be to catch some *kaiki* for our *bulasi* (midnight snack)."

Here, I am afraid, I rather rudely interrupted the old gentleman to ask him how Tui Liku understood what they said, and why they used the expression *bulasi* instead of *bulago*.

"Have I not said, sir," he replied, "that Tui Liku was a wise man? I expect he had learnt their talk by this time. And, another thing, were they not demons of Lau? Why, then, should they use the language of Bau?" [1]

[197]

Properly silenced by this, I asked him to proceed. He settled himself back again and continued.

"So they searched up and down the beach, prodding the sand with sticks to find the *kaiki* tunnels, as is the custom when we seek *kaiki* for fish-bait. At last the leader came to where Tui

[226]

[1] Bau is the "Parisian" dialect of the Colony, and the old man had hitherto been telling his tale in it.